

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: MARR, MASS, TU

SUBJECT: TURKISH ARMS EMBARGO

FOLLOWING FOR YOUR INFORMATION IS TEXT OF "DEAR COLLEAGUE"
LETTER DATED JULY 1978 SENT TO ALL HOUSE MEMBERS BY
CONGRESSMEN FASCELL, BRADEMAS, MINETA, BLANCHARD, BIAGGI,
EDGAR, D'AMOURS, DERWINSKI, ROSE, TSONGAS, MIKULSKI,
O'BRIEN, WYCHE FOWLER, RUSSO, ROSENTHAL, P.J. MITCHELL,
FRASER, GILMAN, J. L. BURTON, FLORIO, AND RANGEL:

BEGIN TEXT IN IMPOSING AN EMBARGO ON AMERICAN MILITARY AID
TO TURKEY AFTER TURKEY'S AUGUST, 1974, INVASION AND OCCU-
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PATION OF CYPRUS, CONGRESS HAD IN MIND TWO BASIC CONSIDERA-
TIONS:

THE FIRST WAS THE NEED TO ENFORCE AMERICAN LAW, WHICH
REQUIRED THAT FURTHER MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO TURKEY BE
TERMINATED AFTER AMERICAN-SUPPLIED WEAPONS WERE USED BY
TURKEY FOR OFFENSIVE PURPOSES ON CYPRUS.

THE SECOND CONSIDERATION, AND THE FOCUS OF THIS LETTER, WAS THE EXPECTATION THAT THE ADMINISTRATION WOULD USE THE EMBARGO TO CONVINCE TURKEY OF THE NEED TO TAKE SUBSTANTIVE ACTIONS TO PROMOTE A JUST SETTLEMENT ON CYPRUS.

REGRETTABLY, THE ADMINISTRATION HAS FAILED TO DO SO.

INSTEAD, THIS ADMINISTRATION, LIKE THE ONE WHICH PRECEDED IT, HAS ACTED IN A MANNER WHICH HAS UNDERMINED THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE EMBARGO AND HAS SIGNED TURKEY THAT IT NEED NOT TAKE THE EMBARGO SERIOUSLY.

THE FOLLOWING BRIEF SUMMARY OF CARTER ADMINISTRATION ACTIONS AND STATEMENTS CONCERNING CYPRUS -- MANY OF WHICH HAVE RECEIVED LITTLE OR NO PUBLICITY IN THIS COUNTRY -- MAKES THIS CONCLUSION OBVIOUS. THE SUMMARY ALSO MAKES CLEAR THAT THE ADMINISTRATION'S REQUEST THAT THE EMBARGO BE LIFTED "BECAUSE IT HASN'T WORKED" STANDS LOGIC ON ITS HEAD: THE EMBARGO HAS NOT WORKED BECAUSE THE ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN UNWILLING OR UNABLE TO MAKE IT WORK.

WE THINK IT ESSENTIAL, THEREFORE, THAT THE FOLLOWING FACTS BE KEPT IN MIND IN CONSIDERING THE ADMINISTRATION'S JUSTIFICATION FOR ATTEMPTING TO LIFT THE EMBARGO:

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THE ADMINISTRATION'S FIRST REQUEST FOR ARMS FOR TURKEY, SUBMITTED BY THE STATE DEPARTMENT IN MARCH OF 1977, SOUGHT A LEVEL OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE MANY TIMES THE LEVEL SUPPLIED BY THE PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION. THIS REQUEST, YOU MAY RECALL, ENGENDERED STRONG OPPOSITION AND WAS ULTIMATELY SUBSTANTIALLY REDUCED. TURKEY NONETHELESS RECEIVED A FORTY PERCENT INCREASE IN MILITARY SALES (FROM \$125 TO \$175 MILLION) FROM 1977 TO 1978 ALTHOUGH IT HAD TAKEN NO POSITIVE ACTION WHATSOEVER ON CYPRUS. THE HOPE THAT THIS SIGNIFICANT INCREASE WOULD INDUCE SUCH POSITIVE ACTION ON THE PART OF TURKEY PROVED EMPTY.

THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE RESORTED TO A LITTLE-KNOWN AGENCY -- THE NATO MAINTENANCE AND SUPPLY AGENCY (NAMSA) -- LOCATED IN LUXEMBOURG, TO SUPPLY TURKEY WITH NEARLY \$30 MILLION OF WEAPONS BEYOND THE RESTRICTIONS IN AMERICAN LAW LIMITING THE AMOUNT OF MILITARY SALES. DESPITE THE VIGOROUS PROTESTS OF SEVERAL MEMBERS, INCLUDING THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON EUROPE OF THE HOUSE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE, WHO TERMED THE ACTION "A VIOLATION OF THE SPIRIT, IF NOT THE LETTER, OF THE LAW", THIS CIRCUMVENTION OF THE MILITARY SALES LIMITATION

CONTINUES.

THE UNITED STATES MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS, IN AN EFFORT TO AVOID "OFFENDING" TURKEY, VOTED WITH A VERY SMALL MINORITY LAST FALL TO WEAKEN A GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION WHICH SIMPLY CALLED FOR ACTION TOWARD A

SETTLEMENT ON CYPRUS.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT SUBMITTED LAST FEBRUARY A REPORT ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN TURKEY AND IN CYPRUS WHICH WAS A DELIBERATE WHITEWASH OF TURKISH PRACTICES IN BOTH THOSE COUNTRIES. A STATE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN WAS QUOTED AT THE TIME AS SAYING THAT THE DEPARTMENT DID NOT WANT TO UNCLASSIFIED

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REPORT ANYTHING WHICH MIGHT MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT TO GET CONGRESS TO APPROVE LIFTING THE EMBARGO.

THE UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR TO TURKEY DECLARED IN NEWS INTERVIEWS IN ANKARA, DURING THE TIME WHEN THE ADMINISTRATION STILL CLAIMED TO SUPPORT THE EMBARGO, THAT "THE EMBARGO DOESN'T SERVE ANY AMERICAN INTEREST," THAT "WITHOUT CHANGING THE LAW (WHICH PROHIBITS UNITED STATES ARMS TO AGGRESSOR COUNTRIES) I WOULD LIKE TO FIND SOME WAY AROUND IT," AND THAT "MY ONLY HOPE IS THAT...IT (THE EMBARGO) WILL BE REMOVED." HIGH-RANKING U.S. MILITARY OFFICERS MADE SIMILAR STATEMENTS IN THE PAST EIGHTEEN MONTHS AND THEREBY ENCOURAGED TURKISH INTRANSIGENCE WITH REGARD TO A JUST SETTLEMENT ON CYPRUS. OBVIOUSLY, THE ARMS LIMITATION COULD NOT BE EFFECTIVE WHEN THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT HEARD HIGH AMERICAN OFFICIALS PUBLICLY CONTRADICT THE ADMINISTRATION'S OWN POLICY ON THIS ISSUE.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE ASSURED MEMBERS OF CONGRESS SEVERAL MONTHS AGO THAT BEFORE THE ADMINISTRATION MADE ANY DECISION ON WHETHER TO REVERSE ITS FIELD AND ASK FOR A LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO, THE ADMINISTRATION WOULD CAREFULLY STUDY THE ACTIONS AND PROPOSALS EXPECTED FROM TURKEY TO INSURE THAT THEY REPRESENTED SUBSTANTIVE PROGRESS TOWARD A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT. BUT THE ADMINISTRATION SOON BACKED DOWN AND -- BEFORE TURKEY HAD TAKEN ANY ACTION, INDEED, BEFORE THE TURKISH PROPOSALS HAD EVEN BEEN SUBMITTED, LET ALONE EXAMINED -- ASKED FOR THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO ANYWAY.

NOT SURPRISINGLY, WITH ALL INCENTIVE TO TAKE ACTIONS ON A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT HAVING BEEN ELIMINATED, TURKEY TOOK NO ACTIONS AT ALL. MOREOVER, ITS PROPOSALS WERE SO POOR AS UNCLASSIFIED

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TO BE REGARDED THROUGHOUT THE DIPLOMATIC COMMUNITY AS
VIRTUALLY MEANINGLESS.

THIS SORRY RECORD SHOWS CLEARLY WHY THE EMBARGO "HASN'T
WORKED": THESE -- AND OTHER -- ACTIONS OF THE ADMINISTRATION
HAVE UNDERMINED IT. THE ADMINISTRATION HAS FAILED
ABYSMALLY TO CONVINCE TURKEY THAT GREATER FLEXIBILITY ON
CYPRUS IS ESSENTIAL TO THE RESUMPTION OF A FULL MILITARY

RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES. AS A REMEDY FOR ITS
OWN FAILURE, THE ADMINISTRATION NOW ASKS CONGRESS TO
ABANDON PRINCIPLE AND TO IGNORE THE CLEAR REQUIREMENTS
OF AMERICAN LAW. THIS WE MUST NOT DO.

WE ASK YOU, THEREFORE, TO JOIN US IN DEMONSTRATING THAT
CONGRESS, A CO-EQUAL BRANCH OF OUR GOVERNMENT, BELIEVES
IN ENFORCING OUR LAWS BY SUPPORTING THE EFFECTIVE USE OF
THE ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST TURKEY. END TEXT VANCE

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